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Security Council

Sixty-ninth year

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Friday, 14 March 2014, 3.10 p.m.
New York

President:	Ms. Lucas	(Luxembourg)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Oyarzábal
	Australia	Ms. King
	Chad	Mr. Mangaral
	Chile	Mr. Errázuriz
	China	Mr. Shen Bo
	France	Mr. Araud
	Jordan	Mr. Omaish
	Lithuania	Ms. Murmokaitė
	Nigeria	Mr. Laro
	Republic of Korea	Ms. Paik Ji-ah
	Russian Federation	Mr. Iliichev
	Rwanda	Mr. Gasana
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America	Mr. DeLaurentis

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region (S/2014/153)

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/201 /157)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region (S/2014/153)

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2014/157)

The President (*spoke in French*): In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Martin Kobler, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mrs. Mary Robinson, Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region, to participate in this meeting.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome Mrs. Robinson, who is joining today's meeting via video-teleconference from London.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2014/153, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region.

I also wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2014/157, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

I now give the floor to Mr. Kobler.

Mr. Kobler (*spoke in French*): I would like to start by congratulating Luxembourg on its assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March.

Two months ago, I briefed the Council on how the hopes that arose in 2013 had began to materialize to the benefit of the Congolese people (see S/PV.7094). Today, I am here to seek the Council's support for another renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) in order to bring the Mission to an end.

This meeting provides an excellent opportunity to demonstrate the effectiveness of MONUSCO, in particular its military component. We have achieved a great deal since 2013. The defeat of the militants of the Mouvement du 23 mars (M-23), the joint operations against the Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR) and the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) and securing the liberated areas are all contributing to the restoration of pockets of stability in order to gradually re-establish State authority in the eastern part of the country. We must now consolidate the gains achieved, while continuing to secure the areas where the armed groups are still active. That means preventing any backsliding by establishing safeguards. It is now up to us to robustly maintain the peace with conviction and perseverance.

(*spoke in English*)

There is a new momentum, and we must build on that. Our robust protection stance and the hard-won stability are the foundation upon which peace can be built. At the outset, let me describe two events that symbolize where we stand. The first is a good barometer of the progress made, and the second illustrates that much remains to be done to bring peace and security to conflict-affected areas.

The Amani music and dance festival for peace, initially scheduled for September 2013, eventually took place in February, thanks to the return of peace to Goma. The festival was a perfect illustration of how culture is capable of bringing people together in peace. More than 11,000 Congolese and Rwandans sang and danced together.

After the festival, I visited the so-called triangle of death in Katanga. I saw some of the 80 burned and

deserted villages. Mayi-Mayi Bakata Katanga groups have been systematically burning down villages and terrorizing the population. More than 400,000 people have been displaced so far. I saw children just separated from those armed groups, their eyes glazed and empty, their parents killed. They had no home to return to. I decided to reinforce our presence in Katanga. Still, Katanga, like the Democratic Republic of the Congo, is a real paradox. It is very rich but also is troubled by extreme poverty.

Those two events illustrate the hope and the desperation, the chances and the challenges, the past and the future of the people of the Congo.

On the eve of the adoption of a new mandate, MONUSCO's overriding priorities remain the same. Security and protection will be our first priority, followed by the stabilization of conflict-affected areas and, thirdly, support for the reform processes and the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region. MONUSCO cannot stay in the Congo forever. With the Council's help, we must speedily and consistently work together with our Congolese partners to bring about sustainable peace and start planning to phase out the Mission. The move of much of our civilian personnel to the east is a first step.

Thanks to intelligence gathered from different sources, including unarmed unmanned aviation systems, or the so-called unmanned aerial vehicles, ongoing sweeping operations have become better targeted against the FDLR. We have been very clear to them: surrender now or you will face the full Force Intervention Brigade. The Government, too, has stepped up its efforts to put an end to the threat that the FDLR poses to the population. I am confident that it will not stop until they have laid down their weapons. Together, we have continued our military operations against the FDLR.

After the ADF attacks in December, during which 21 civilians were killed, including 11 babies and young children, the Congolese army launched large-scale operations against ADF positions. With the support of the Force, the Congolese army destroyed the main ADF headquarters and cleared their main axes and routes and is now undertaking operations to flush out the remaining pockets of ADF resistance.

To bring our Mission to a good end, the Force, however, has to modernize. Fourteen years of a static approach to the protection of civilians has proven insufficient. The Force needs to be robust, flexible, versatile, highly mobile and well trained — and fully able to deploy across the whole of the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, holding key areas and operating deep in the most inaccessible areas. We need a more active presence in Ituri, South Kivu and Katanga.

If we are to enhance our ability to effectively deal with armed groups, the Force as a whole has to tirelessly pursue them. To that end, the Force is reducing part of its long-term static side and operating bases and is focusing on the use of mobile forces. The recent redeployment of Egyptian special forces to Katanga and the Uruguayan reaction to the attack of Cheka on Pinga in January demonstrated how a proactive approach can deter attacks on civilians and how all Force components and units can work together in a combined approach. Our motto says it all — One Mandate, One Mission, One Force.

The use of force is not a means in itself, however. It is guided by one important principle: politics first. We always strive for a peaceful and voluntary solution. The use of force alone will not achieve sustainable results if not embedded in a political framework. The military success over the M-23 will not be durable if the Nairobi Declarations are not implemented and the ex-combatants now in Uganda and Rwanda not speedily integrated into society. I welcome the recently adopted amnesty law, which rightly precludes perpetrators of gross human rights violations.

However, the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo needs to take concrete steps rapidly to ensure implementation of the National Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Plan. I urge both the international community and the Government to find solutions as to the structure and financing of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) process. I cannot overestimate the importance of adequate civilian follow-up actions; without them, the military gains will prove to be ephemeral. Given that we cannot tolerate any rollback or undermining of what has been achieved so far, a failure to rapidly implement the DDR Plan would be a serious setback. We cannot allow that to happen.

Since my last briefing to the Security Council, sexual violence against young girls and women has continued to be a problem. The Mission maintains zero tolerance

for sexual terrorism, and MONUSCO, together with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, will publish a thematic report on the fight against impunity for sexual violence in the coming days. We remain engaged in fighting impunity. The trial of those suspected of involvement in the Minova case resumed after interruption. The military court has so far heard testimony from 60 victims of rape and other human rights violations. In support of the Congolese military justice, MONUSCO continued to provide technical and logistical support.

There is also zero tolerance for recruiting child soldiers. Since mid-December, 268 children have been removed from the ranks of armed groups that surrendered to the Congolese army. The youngest was a boy of 10 years of age.

Our second priority — the stabilization of freed areas — should lead to the restoration of State authority. The concept of "islands of stability" was a direct answer to quickly embed State authority in post-conflict territories. In my last briefing, I could not report that children were going to school or that the administration was functioning in areas liberated from the M-23. Now I can.

I am pleased to report that in Kiwanja Rutshuru the advances have been quite impressive. Police units have been deployed, supported by the United Nations police with tents, rations and fuel. The territorial administrator and civil servants have returned, and MONUSCO and the country team are developing projects to rehabilitate police, justice and administrative buildings. The prison of Rutshuru has reopened, and its personnel were trained by MONUSCO.

Ownership is crucial. That is why I am glad that the North Kivu authorities identified seven additional pilot projects to turn into islands of stability. But, despite the progress, daunting difficulties remain to be dealt with before we can speak of delivery of full basic public services to people in the region. Although hampered by poor logistics and irregular payment of salary to civil servants, the local Government needs to be practical and focus on what can make a difference to the people.

To better support the Government where it is most needed, the Mission is undergoing a transformation into a field mission. We move to the east. Two thirds of all substantive staff in Kinshasa are being deployed to reinforce existing field offices in support of our operations in the east. We have established a permanent civilian presence in Kiwanja, and that will be replicated in other areas. MONUSCO moves nearer to the very people it means to assist. The reconfiguration is not meant to prolong MONUSCO's stay in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. On the contrary, it is the first step to an inevitable exit.

Our third priority is encouraging the implementation of key reforms in the context of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. Continued robust military operations by the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and MONUSCO, followed by stabilization efforts, need to be accompanied by consistent reform efforts on the part of the Government.

In support of the Government's reform plans, I have set up a coordination group at the ambassadorial level in Kinshasa aimed at harmonization of the positions of the donor community. That coordination group looks at four areas of overarching concern for the United Nations and international partners in the Democratic Republic of the Congo — DDR, elections, security sector reform (SSR) and stabilization. Our messages are clear. DDR of former fighters has to happen now. Preparations for the elections have to start now. Concrete progress on SSR has to be delivered now.

I strongly encourage the Government to accelerate implementation of key reforms, and I urge donors to assist in financing those reforms. I am particularly concerned by the slow pace of security sector reform despite President Kabila's emphasis in his address to the nation on 23 October 2013 that it was the priority of priorities. We need the Congolese army's rapid reaction force to ultimately take over from the Force Intervention Brigade. Early advances in police reform and justice reform have also suffered a setback because of insufficient budgetary provisions. In the long term, that prevents us from addressing impunity and poor governance.

On the electoral front, the Independent National Electoral Commission presented the National Assembly with a draft road map calling for local, urban and municipal elections in early 2015. It is important that its adoption be conducted in a transparent and inclusive manner. Through our good offices we will continue to promote an inclusive dialogue with a view to creating an environment conducive to the holding of credible elections. Respect for the constitutional provisions regarding the elections, in terms of both procedure and calendar, must be upheld.

I appeal to the international community to support the Democratic Republic of the Congo on its path to democratic rule. The Council's support is crucial to safeguarding proper democratic principles. Its support is crucial to guaranteeing a vote for every Congolese. Its support is crucial to avoid the errors of the past. I also call upon the opposition to participate constructively, and I urge all political parties to sign the Code of Conduct.

I remain concerned, however, by recent political developments that prevent all political forces from freely moving and campaigning. I therefore urge the Government to respect fundamental rights, such as freedom of speech, expression and assembly, and extend them to all political forces, as provided for by the Congolese Constitution. I have instituted an electoral incidents task force to closely monitor the situation; it will report regularly.

On 24 February, we celebrated the first anniversary of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. The Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, Mary Robinson, with whom I continue to enjoy an excellent relationship, will go further into detail on the implementation of the national commitments.

After decades of conflict between neighbouring countries, contacts at all levels of the region's Governments indicate a new dynamic in the region. Mutual trust is fragile. Confidence-building takes time. Still, investment in crossborder transport infrastructure and economic cooperation will pave the way to regional prosperity.

First, I wish to thank the donor community for its financial contribution in helping us upgrade the Goma airport. Turning Goma into an economic hub will boost economic development and foster regional cooperation. I leave it to Special Envoy Mary Robinson to elaborate on the current initiatives to promote private entrepreneurship.

Secondly, the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo should be a source of prosperity, not poverty. I welcome the Government's intention to increase public revenues from natural resources. The legalization and regulation of the exportation and exploitation of minerals is addressing the root causes of the conflict.

Despite many difficulties, I sense a spirit of dynamism and hope. That is certainly not a guarantee for success. That spirit, however, places an obligation for all of us in MONUSCO and in the country team to grasp the opportunity — maybe for the first time in many years — to reach a durable solution.

However, peace has a price tag. MONUSCO will reduce its budget. Over 300 posts will be cut. I am the first to criticize inefficiencies, reduce duplication, fine-tune management structures. Solid work, however, needs solid resources.

(*spoke in French*)

On the eve of the renewal of MONUSCO's mandate, we look to the future hopefully but realistically. I am confident that when the songs of the Congolese youth have replaced the sound of bullets, prosperity will be around the corner.

I would like to thank all of the United Nations staff for their daily commitment, in increasingly difficult circumstances, to working for a lasting peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. More specifically, on the twelfth anniversary of Radio Okapi, allow me to express my enormous gratitude to the station's entire staff for their work and commitment. Radio Okapi is a radio station unlike any other. It has become part of daily life for the Congolese and is often their only source of information. Through the airwaves it helps to unify Congolese society.

I thank you, Madam President, and the members of the Security Council once again for your support.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Kobler for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Mrs. Robinson.

Mrs. Robinson: Thank you, Madam President, for this opportunity to brief the Security Council today from London and for the strong support the Council has given to efforts to bring durable peace and stability to the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region.

One year after the signing of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region, I remain convinced that it offers the best prospects and hope for security and for the improvement of the living conditions of the people in the region, who continue to bear the brunt of armed violence and aggression. Indeed, in the last year, hope has risen with the defeat of the rebel Mouvement du 23 mars (M-23) followed by the conclusion of the Kampala Dialogue Declarations between the parties.

The Forces armées de la République démocratique du Congo (FARDC), supported by the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) and its Force Intervention Brigade, are pursuing its efforts to rid the east of the country of the armed groups.

Furthermore, despite numerous challenges, hope for dialogue, trust and regional cooperation — the basis for peace and security — have appeared stronger in the past year. By collaborating on the regional benchmarks and building consensus on the plan of action for the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework, countries of the Great Lakes region have been able to show the possibilities of the framework of hope, and that durable peace and security for the region can be within grasp if the current momentum is sustained. I should, however, stress that the situation in the eastern parat of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region remains quite precarious and will require actions at several levels to sustain the current momentum and to achieve meaningful results.

A good way to sustain the current momentum and to ensure that the framework of hope delivers on its promises is to align international actions with emerging positive regional dynamics that reinforce the objectives of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. Angola's current chairmanship of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) offers a good opportunity and holds significant prospects for advancing the cause of peace and stability in the region.

At the latest Summit of the International Conference on Peace, Security, Democracy and Development in the Great Lakes Region, held in Luanda in January, President Dos Santos shared a vision for his tenure that complements the objectives of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. The President initiated a political dialogue with Presidents Kagame, Kabila, Museveni and Zuma on illegal armed groups such as the Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR) and the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), during which they agreed on a plan to tackle the sources of insecurity in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region. It was agreed, inter alia, that the military chiefs of staff of the five countries involved in the dialogue would come together and examine ways to support the plans of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to address the FDLR.

I believe that a regional plan borne out of dialogue holds good prospects, and I am strongly encouraging the political leadership of President Dos Santos to ensure coherence and to be a rallying point for the coordination of efforts in the region. My several meetings with President Dos Santos have been very encouraging, and I firmly believe that much progress can be achieved by Angola's leadership of the ICGLR in the next two years.

As I was saying earlier, the FARDC, supported by MONUSCO and its Force Intervention Brigade, are making significant progress in their operations against the ADF. Operations have now started against the FDLR, as the Council has heard. Those are indeed important developments. However, I believe they should take into account the regional plan and the steps agreed in Luanda and align efforts for optimum results. It is my sincere hope that robust operations against FDLR elements who refuse to surrender will be vigorously sustained and concluded speedily. Those who surrender and who have not been involved in the genocide or other serious crimes should have the option to return to Rwanda in dignity through the established processes.

President Kabila's commitments in Luanda to address the FDLR threat in a comprehensive manner by the end of the year and his Government's ultimatum on 24 February to the FDLR, as well as the recent actions by the FARDC, supported by MONUSCO and the Force Intervention Brigade, are very encouraging signs. Tackling the FDLR presence in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo should indeed go a long way to address Rwanda's concerns and ease tensions in the region. It would form the building blocks for trust and mutual confidence, with multiplier effects to facilitate regional economic and social cooperation. It would also facilitate efforts for the full restoration of State authority in the Kivu regions of eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo.

As we move into the second year of implementation, it is equally important that we fast-track the social and economic aspects of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. As I have always said, peace cannot take root without tangible evidence on the ground that jobs and businesses are able to flourish, with people feeling a difference in their lives.

Following the endorsement by the regional oversight mechanism of the convening of a private sector investment conference for the region, I have been

working, together with my team, with the ICGLR, the African Union (AU), the European Union, the World Bank, United Nations agencies and with a number of Member States to hold the conference before the end of this year. The conference will promote a shared understanding of the role of the private sector in advancing the economic pillar of the Framework, inspire actionable policy recommendations for the consideration of decision makers and create a venue for public and private stakeholders of the signatory countries to identify business and investment opportunities. It will also create a space for business leaders to forge relationships, expand their professional networks and share experiences.

My Office will convene the conference jointly with the ICGLR, the Southern African Development Community and the African Union, in close consultation with other United Nations agencies, countries of the region and with the support of the bilateral and multilateral institutions.

The social and economic pillars of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework also recorded some achievements with the establishment of the Women's Platform for the Framework, which I had the privilege to help launch on 28 January in Addis Ababa, during the AU summit. The ICGLR opened the regional training facility on sexual and gender-based violence in Kampala, on 16 February, for the training of security personnel in the region. Collaboration is ongoing with the ICGLR and other partners to operationalize those important mechanisms.

My recent interactions with civil society organizations from across the region — which took place in Addis Ababa on the margins of the African Union January Summit and in follow-up meetings, both in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and lately in The Hague, during the meeting of the International Contact Group — have clearly revealed the readiness of that critical group to play an active role in the implementation of the Framework. I look to Council members to lend their support to all of those initiatives, which would directly impact the lives of the people of the region.

Related progress has been achieved at national level, as well since the endorsement of the plan of action for the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. I commend President Kabila and the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for promulgating the amnesty law, in line with the Kampala Dialogue Declarations, which formally ended the conflict with the M-23. I think we must all recognize that it was not an easy step for a Government to take and that it was a sign of leadership that the Government was determined that it had to be part of the process.

The amnesty, as we know, will not be extended to those responsible for serious crimes and human rights violations. However, more actions are required to follow up, particularly on the repatriation from Uganda and Rwanda of former M-23 combatants and the beginning of an effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) process for eligible members.

During my recent visit in the region, I raised the issue of the former M-23 combatants with the relevant authorities. I am glad that some progress is being made in relation to DDR and that there are active discussions with international partners. But this is a critical issue on which more progress is needed, as my colleague and friend Martin Kobler has emphasized.

I continue to be engaged with Ugandan Minister of Defence Kiyonga, the ICGLR and the national oversight mechanism in the Democratic Republic of the Congo to fast track the establishment of the follow-up mechanism, as agreed under the Kampala Dialogue Declarations.

Meanwhile, several critical issues remain that require urgent attention. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, more needs to be done to consolidate State authority throughout the country, reform the security sector — again, I agree with Martin Kobler that this has to be more of a priority, particularly with regard to the army — and promote good governance, reconciliation, tolerance and democratization. While efforts are ongoing to align various national plans with the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework, for optimal results the Democratic Republic of the Congo national oversight mechanism needs to be further strengthened to efficiently carry out its mandate. During my recent visit to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, I was pleased to learn from both Prime Minister Matata Ponyo Mapon and the Coordinator of the national oversight mechanism, François Mwamba, that support to the mechanism and coordination with the Government was improving.

Despite the modest progress recorded in the past year, we still have a long way to go to achieve

the objectives of the Framework. The security and humanitarian situation in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo remains fragile. I would say it remains unacceptable, because there is still not the security needed by women and their families in particular. We must therefore find the means and courage to address all underlying causes of conflicts, promote reconciliation and tackle the obstacles that impede the voluntary return of refugees in safety and in dignity. Furthermore, efforts should be geared towards working with the region to build trust, without which economic and social cooperation cannot thrive.

While efforts should remain focused on stabilizing the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, we must equally be mindful of the impact of developments in the Central African Republic and South Sudan, also signatories to the Framework and neighbours to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I am very concerned — as I know members of the Council are — about continuing reports of gross violations of human rights in those countries and the prevailing security situation.

Recently, at a breakfast in Kinshasa on 3 March, I met Catherine Samba-Panza, interim President of the Central African Republic. We spoke at length. She informed me of the urgent need for additional capacity to be provided by the United Nations to support peacekeeping in her country and requested that I bring this dire need to the attention of members of the Council today.

In addition, and in a way that I think requires our attention, the growing tensions in another signatory country, Burundi, are also quite worrisome. I will travel to Bujumbura on 19 March to engage with the Government and stakeholders, in close coordination with Special Representative of the Secretary-General Parfait Onanga-Anyanga.

Before travelling to Burundi, I will be in Goma, on 18 March, one year to the day from when my mandate started, for an announcement and press conference about the "peace one day", 21 September, which will be celebrated in the Democratic Republic of the Congo this year. It will be an opportunity for the world to take stock, in a sense, of both the progress and the needs in that country.

In the coming months, certain courses of actions will be critical if further meaningful progress is to be achieved in the implementation of the Framework. At the national level, the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo needs to quickly implement the provisions of the Kampala Dialogue Declarations, including the administrative and technical steps to facilitate the repatriation of the almost 2,000 former M-23 combatants who fled to Rwanda and Uganda last year. Further delay in that process could be costly to peace and regional stability.

The national DDR programme also needs to gain immediate traction. It remains stalled due to the lack of an agreed approach and an agreed funding plan with international partners. Concrete actions in fair and independent courts would also be required against those who have committed serious violations of human rights and international crimes. I welcome the proposal for the establishment of mixed courts.

While it is important to hold Member States accountable for the implementation of their commitments and to provide support in that regard, we must not fail to be guided by the fact that achieving peace and stability in the region will be an incremental process. The region will therefore require time, as well as dedicated support, to achieve the objectives of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. More important, international engagements and messaging to Member States must be strong, constant, well coordinated and coherent to achieve the desired results.

Despite the other pressures on members of the Council — and I know they are very real — I would plead for the continuation of the strong support that members have shown for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region.

In the coming months, with the kind support of the Council, I intend to continue my engagements with President Dos Santos and Foreign Minister Chikoti to seek further collaboration in the political dialogue among leaders of the region on sensitive issues. It is my sincere hope that, beginning with the ongoing dialogue on illegal armed groups, the process will develop to include dialogue on other critical issues that would otherwise severely limit the achievement of the goals of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. I shall also continue my efforts with the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and will support the ICGLR secretariat's efforts to ensure the effective implementation and follow-up of the Kampala Dialogue Declarations.

Of course, I will continue to work closely with Special Representative of the Secretary-General Kobler, with whom, as he has also said, I have an excellent relationship. We work very closely together, and I think that is a strength. We both understand the need to complement each other, but also to work very closely together.

I will also work increasingly with civil society, including women's groups, and with international partners, including the team of envoys, with whom I also have an excellent relationship, to assist the Government in accelerating the implementation of key national reforms, including security sector reform, the consolidation of State authority throughout the country, national reconciliation and democratization, particularly as we approach the next election cycle.

Let me conclude with a personal word regarding a special memorial event that is imminent — the twentieth anniversary of the genocide that occurred in Rwanda. As I said to the Council during my first briefing as Special Envoy, in May 2013 (see S/PV.6960), I recall vividly my first visit to Rwanda after that tragic event, and the images of the atrocities remain indelible in my mind. As we commemorate the genocide, I would like to encourage all of us to reflect deeply on the lessons learned from the past work together, to ensure that the succeeding years — the next 20 years and well beyond — in the Great Lakes region of Africa will be characterized by tolerance, peace, stability and development.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank Mrs. Robinson for her briefing.

I shall now give the floor to the member of the Council who wishes to make a statement.

Mr. Gasana (Rwanda): I thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Kobler and Special Envoy of the Secretary-General Robinson for taking the time to brief us today on the reports of the Secretary-General (S/2014/157 and S/204/153, respectively) and the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO).

As the Secretary-General's reports highlight, despite the positive developments of late 2013, it is clear that the momentum has slowed, with limited progress on both the political and military fronts. We are looking at a volatile security situation in not only the east, but throughout the country. Negative forces are still on the rampage, killing and maiming, raping young girls and women, recruiting children and displacing thousands of civilians.

The seriousness and scale of the killings and violations that continue in Katanga and in areas formerly occupied by the Mouvement du 23 mars (M-23) in North Kivu are deeply troubling. A major reason for that is the culture of impunity that continues to prevail throughout the country. All perpetrators — whether from the Forces armées de la République démocratique du Congo (FARDC), which has committed 18 per cent of crimes reported in 2013, or any other armed group — must be brought to justice and held accountable for their crimes.

There is no doubt that the next few months will be critical. We need to take a serious look at how resolution 2098 (2013) is being implemented, especially in the neutralization of negative armed groups, the consolidation of the peace process and the protection of civilians in liberated areas.

We welcome mention in the reports presented by the briefers of the fact that some members of some armed groups have peacefully surrendered, and indeed we applaud the FARDC, supported by MONUSCO, for attacking and destroying a number of Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) camps. The resumption of the Minova trial is another positive development, and we look forward to a conclusive prosecution that can set a precedent for future cases. The recently promulgated amnesty law, adopted as per the Kampala Declarations, is also a positive step in national reconciliation, but one that will require measurable actions. We urge MONUSCO and the international community to closely monitor its implementation.

However, those positive developments should not obscure the fact that one of the oldest armed groups remains at large. As always, for the past 20 years, the problem that we have is the posture of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the United Nations peacekeepers, currently MONUSCO, towards the threat posed by the Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR), the genocidal forces responsible for the genocide against the Tutsi. Throughout the last quarter of 2013, we were told that the FDLR were next on the list of negative forces to be eliminated. What therefore happened between when that promise was made and the next briefing? No one knows. There is no accountability.

At our most recent meeting on MONUSCO, the military operation plan presented to the Security Council was that the FARDC was to go after the ADF. They did so, and we applaud them. Following that, we were told that MONUSCO was to focus its resources on the FDLR. Nothing happened. Only a week or two before this briefing did we hear the news that there was a military operation against the FDLR.

The threat of the FDLR persists, despite the mandate of MONUSCO, which was given extra offensive capabilities after the deployment of the Intervention Brigade, and MONUSCO's failure to commit to fighting that force remains evident.

Once again, it is high time we see a change of attitude on the part of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo towards the FDLR. Rwanda has for several years expressed legitimate concerns about the lack of political will of that Government to tackle the threat of the FDLR. Various Security Council reports have detailed evidence of all kinds of support given to the FDLR by the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Rwanda has provided even more.

The continuous excuses given by MONUSCO, again and again, when it comes to conducting military operations against the FDLR are disturbing. While it is not making excuses about the lack of intelligence — which Rwanda has shared with MONUSCO — it is engaged in propaganda operations to hoodwink the Security Council about military operations with the FARDC against the FDLR. On 9 March 2014, the MONUSCO Force Intervention Brigade, jointly with the FARDC, raided the FDLR's illegal road block along the Kalengera-Tongo road. Reliable information revealed that Colonel Ramadan, the acting FARDC commander of the eighth military region, leaked information of the impending Brigade attack on the FDLR, thus undermining the operation.

Let me just add that it is not only Rwanda expressing frustration over inaction against negative forces. The countries of the region and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) have expressed frustration over the lack of political will by MONUSCO to address the threats of armed groups in the Great Lakes region.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo has been host to domestic and foreign armed groups, particularly the M-23, the FDLR and the Allied Democratic Forces/National Army for the Liberation of Uganda. As a result, the ICGLR came up with detailed mechanisms to address the situation, including political and military measures. Some of those mechanisms have been taken over by the United Nations, including the Intervention Brigade under MONUSCO — and yet the major threat posed by the FDLR has not been tackled. That was again the subject of the ICGLR Summit held in Luanda on 15 January 2014, where the chiefs of defence staffs of Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Uganda and South Africa were again tasked with assessing the situation and coming up with new mechanisms to eradicate the FDLR.

On the current situation regarding the FDLR, let me briefly share some updates with the Council on FDLR activities. The FDLR's strength is estimated at 3,640, with infantry and integral weapons. That strength is likely to increase, due to ongoing recruitment and training. Currently, the FDLR is engaged in the following activities.

First, it is enhancing collaboration with FARDC, especially at the operational level. That has enabled the FDLR to refit, re-arm, share intelligence and have freedom of action and free passage for infiltration and terror attacks in Rwanda. From July 2013 to date, 42 FDLR infiltrators and terror elements have been arrested and are undergoing prosecution in Rwandan courts.

Secondly, on the mobilization, recruitment, training and establishment of terror networks in Rwanda, those activities are facilitated by provision of safe passage and logistics by the FARDC.

Thirdly, the recent claim by MONUSCO that the FDLR is located in populated areas is just a sheer lie. Instead, the outfit has most of its units in Virunga National Park, in North Kivu province. It also maintains its dispositions in unpopulated areas of Mwenga and Uvira territories in South Kivu, involved in illegal mining and taxation in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to sustain the war effort.

I would also like to discuss a different issue, M-23 ex-combatants. While the Secretary-General's report (S/2014/157) suggests that consultations on the unresolved issue of the ex-combatants in Rwanda are ongoing, we remind the Council that those combatants have been in Rwanda since March 2013 — almost a year. The Government of Rwanda has done everything required by international law to contain that group,

including relocating them to Ngoma district in Eastern Province, approximately 250 kilometres from the Democratic Republic of the Congo border. But despite our repeated calls for the international community to assume responsibility, not much has been done. Some contacts were initiated in December, but they were not really that much.

I will not dwell much on the report on the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework (S/2014/153), since the implementation of the Framework will be discussed on 27 March in Nairobi.

As we have said previously, next month marks the twentieth commemoration of the genocide against the Tutsi. There could be no greater symbol of justice for its victims than the defeat and eradication of the FDLR once and for all. It is a virulent genocidal force that has been allowed to terrorize the region for the past two decades.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Mr. Gata Mavita wa Lufuta (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, Madam President, I would like to express how honoured we are to see you presiding over the Security Council today. You represent Luxembourg, a country with which the Democratic Republic of the Congo enjoys a long relationship marked by mutual esteem and respect. I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, the representative of Lithuania, and to congratulate her for the commitment and skill with which she headed the Council during the past month.

I should also like to convey to the Security Council the gratitude of the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for the United Nations efforts to uphold the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country and to ensure its peace and stability.

Finally, I would like to pay tribute Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, whose interest in working to consolidate peace in my country led to his personal involvement in bringing together the leaders of the Great Lakes region and Southern Africa for the signing of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region. That agreement was concluded in Addis Ababa on 24 February 2013.

My delegation has taken note of the Secretary-General's report on the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region (S/2014/153), as well as the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2014/157), which the Council is currently discussing.

My delegation is pleased to note that the two reports both acknowledge the efforts of my country in the implementation of its commitments under the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. For the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the implementation of the Framework — which for the first time lays the foundations for sustainable peace in the east of the country and for peaceful cohabitation between it and its neighbours, especially those of the east — should be emphasized. That Framework and resolution 2098 (2013), which reinforces the Framework, represent major innovations, both in stemming the crisis that has been rampant in the Great Lakes region since the mid-1990s and in the traditional United Nations peacekeeping doctrine. For the long-suffering people of the region, the Framework and the resolution are striking proof of the determination of the international community to help find a definitive solution to the instability that has lasted far too long and has cost my country greatly.

From that perspective, my delegation would like to endorse the appeal launched by the Heads of State and Government of the signatory countries of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework at the high-level meeting of the regional oversight Mmechanism, which took place in Addis Ababa on 31 January 2014, in which they called upon the countries of the region to cooperate and undertake necessary measures to neutralize armed groups; to combat impunity for war crimes, crimes against humanity, conflict-related sexual violence and other gross violations of human rights; and to undertake appropriate actions against those persons subject to the United Nations sanctions regime.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo is determined to assume its share of responsibility so that peace and concord return to the region. To that effect, as soon as the Framework was signed, the Congolese Government undertook to fulfil its obligations. It is pursuing its efforts to conclude security sector reform. Reforming the structures and staffs of the army, the security services and the police; recruiting Congolese youth from all provinces of the country into the defence

forces; reopening military academies; and training, with help from bilateral partners, of special forces and support units, with the primary goal of making operational the rapid-reaction force — all those concrete actions have already begun and the Government will bolster them so as to make the defence of our territory more effective and to better guarantee the authority of the State.

As stressed by the Secretary-General in his two reports, the President of the Republic, His Excellency Mr. Joseph Kabila Kabange, promulgated on 11 February 2014 the law on amnesty for rebellion, war and political crimes committed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo between 18 February 2006 and 20 December 2013.

One month ago, after his statement before the Lower Chamber of Parliament, the Chair of the Independent National Electoral Commission met with political parties and groups. That meeting, which marked the launch of the 2014-2016 electoral cycle, led to the unanimous adoption of the new Code of Conduct for political parties and candidates. As of 10 February, the Code had been signed by 233 political parties.

Within the framework of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programme, I wish to recall that on 26 December 2013 the Council of Ministers adopted the third national plan for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. The identification of combatants from armed groups in North Kivu, regrouped into the Bweremana and Kanyaruchinya sites, has been completed. Those who are eligible under the plan will be consistently evacuated to triage centres for DDR operations. Meanwhile, the evacuation to the Kitona triage centre of Bakata-Katanga ex-combatants who fulfil the conditions continues.

Furthermore, as my country's President announced in his address to the nation on 31 December, the decentralization process will soon start with the establishment of the new Government, against the background of the gradual establishment of new provinces, the devolution of central Government financial services to the provinces and the establishment of the national stabilization fund.

The Council will recall that, after the defeat of the Mouvement du 23 mars (M-23), the President, the Supreme Commander of the Forces armées de la République démocratique du Congo, ordered the forcible disarmament of all national and foreign armed groups still active throughout the country who refused to respond to the offer of voluntary disarmament.

In the area of operations, the pursuit of rebels who rejected the DDR programme began with the launch of the campaign to restore peace to the east by the Forces armées de la République démocratique du Congo (FARDC) on 16 January. Operations are progressing satisfactorily against the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) in North Kivu and in the southern part of that province, and against the Rwandese rebels of the FDLR in South Kivu.

In that vein, Mr. Martin Kobler recently welcomed the FARDC operations against the FDLR and the armed groups and announced the support and close engagement of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) with the Congolese army to neutralize the FDLR. As the spokesperson of the Government said during a press conference on 7 March, Mr. Kobler has also requested, in a communiqué to the FDLR rebels, that they immediately stop supporting their leaders who are being prosecuted, or expect to be forcibly disarmed.

Along those same lines — to take up the idea expressed on 26 February before the American Senate by the Special Envoy of the United States of America for the Great Lakes Region — if the countries sheltering the defeated elements of the M-23 fail to hand them over to the Democratic Republic of the Congo and international justice, they will have the great responsibility, in line with the provisions of the Framework, to ensure that those individuals do not resume their hostile activities.

With regard to the support of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for the FDLR, which the Ambassador of Rwanda has just spoken of, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, during a previous Council meeting (see S/PV.7107), made the Council aware of the Government's efforts in the pursuit it had already conducted with the Government of Rwanda. Subsequently, those efforts were continued by my Government alone, and then with the help of MONUSCO. As we have already told the Council, those efforts were interrupted after the M-23 rebellion.

As I have just said, now that the M-23 rebellion has been put down, it was the Democratic Republic of the Congo that asked the Council to establish the Intervention Brigade. The Brigade was established at

the request of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and on it the Council conferred the mandate to eradicate all the opposition forces in the region, as well as the various armed groups. That task — as I have said, and Mr. Kobler is present — has begun.

As we have always said, the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is not interested in supporting the FDLR. The FDLR has been present in Rwanda since the Rwandan genocide. The Council knows well that the FDLR did not come to the Democratic Republic of the Congo at our country's request. It was because the Democratic Republic of the Congo wanted to be hospitable by welcoming the Rwandan people who were fleeing the genocide. That is how those responsible for the genocide came to the country.

Today the problem has become a problem of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which is constantly having to deal with it. It is certainly the Democratic Republic of the Congo that is suffering because the FDLR, since coming to our country, has been killing the Congolese. Congolese women are being raped. Congolese villages are being burned. We are the ones suffering from the FDLR. Unless one is cynical, can one believe that a Government whose people are suffering from such acts can support those criminals? No, one cannot. I said that the last time to the Ambassador of Rwanda, who, as the Council, knows, continues to talk about the genocide, soon to be commemorated. But he should not be cynical about the Congolese people, who are suffering.

In the eastern part of my country, we have lost more than 6 million people, who have died. As I said here last time, if the Democratic Republic of the Congo was not involved in the Rwandan genocide, could Rwanda not help us regarding the 6 million people who have died in the east? One should not make fun of the Congolese people because the Congolese Government has no reason to support the FDLR. We have no interest in supporting it.

Mr. Kobler works in the region. He can attest to that. Yesterday, as the Council knows, when the experts presented the report here, what were the accusations of the Rwandan representative? In condemning the experts' report he was also criticizing MONUSCO. He said that MONUSCO was also cooperating with the FDLR. I believe that to be in bad faith, because Rwanda supports that element, which allows it to carry on destabilizing the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is a pretext, and he knows that today, if the Council removes that pretext there will no longer be any reason to be in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and to carry out such activities there. I therefore appeal to the international community and all Security Council members to help us to resolve the situation, in which my country is truly innocent. We cannot tolerate being accused here without grounds.

The renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo should be undertaken in the spirit of paragraphs 9, 10, 11 and 12 of resolution 2098 (2013), of 28 March 2013, by which the Security Council decided to extend and complete, through the Force Intervention Brigade, the mission it had been given to neutralize armed groups, as set out sub-paragraph (b) of paragraph 12 of the resolution, which would allow it to reduce the threat posed by armed groups to State authority and civilian security in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo and prepare the way for stabilization activities.

To that end, I congratulate MONUSCO, its Intervention Brigade and the countries contributing troops to it for the quality of the work done throughout the first term now coming to a close. The work of the Intervention Brigade, working side by side with the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo led to the defeat of M-23, was very much appreciated by the Congolese people.

For my Government, the second mandate of the Intervention Brigade, which will soon begin, should bring success to the efforts already undertaken to restore peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and throughout the Great Lakes region. In the words of President Kabila Kabange on the occasion of the signing of the Framework Agreement,

> "It is time, high time, that we guarantee our people the right to life and sustained enjoyment of the most precious good which they expect from their leaders, namely, peace — not the peace of bayonets, and still less the peace of cemeteries, whose essence is artificial and ephemeral, but the peace that arises from the recognition of a shared destiny, the will to live together and responsibly address problems, and respect for rules and principles, especially those that we have just subscribed again by signing the Framework agreement.

> "That peace is admittedly demanding, but it is the only one able to withstand the ravages of time and the vagaries of history. It is not possible without the sincerity of the actors, and it can only be built in the context of truth. The truth is that, though it has been repeatedly assaulted, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, a country that loves peace, has always respected the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all its neighbours. And it always will be thus."

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to welcome the presence among us of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of Congo, Mr. Martin Kobler, and thank him for the dynamism that he has impressed upon MONUSCO's activities in the field of operations. I also wish to express our gratitude to Her Excellency Mrs. Mary Robinson, Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region of Africa, for her commitment and efforts towards restoring a lasting peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and throughout the Great Lakes region.

The President (*spoke in French*): The representative of Rwanda has asked for the floor to make a further statement.

Mr. Gasana (Rwanda) (*spoke in French*): I will not waste your time, Madam President. I have just a small rectification to make here. You will understand why, Madam. I am Rwandan. I would not say it otherwise.

I would like to tell my dear colleague, the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, that we are not going to celebrate the Rwandan genocide. I know that ours is not the language of Molière and Voltaire, but what we are going to do on 7 April is commemorate the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi in Rwanda. I wanted to make that rectification. We are not going to celebrate. That is all.

The President (*spoke in French*): The representative of Democratic Republic of the Congo has asked for the floor to make a further statement. I now give him the floor.

Mr. Gata Mavita wa Lufuta (Democratic Republic of Congo) (*spoke in French*): I appreciate the rectification that the representative of Rwanda has just made. It is a commemoration in which we will all participate, because what his country experienced was sad and we cannot accept it.

I would also like to take this opportunity to say we do not have a culture of impunity in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I think that what we say at this tabledeserves a minimum of respect because it is said in the name of the authorities of our countries. I had already said it last time — the Ambassador of Rwanda should learn to respect other countries, to respect us, to respect the authorities of my country.

We will therefore no longer accept that type of language. As I just said, as a member of the Security Council, he should not say or do certain things. He has no right to that. In response to everything he just said, which offends my country, I invite him to have respect for my country and for the authorities of my country.

The President (*spoke in French*): There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.